NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
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The People Yes

For them the Progressive Party offers a peaceful alternative

And plenty too

This is the alternative to fields sown with human bodies

WAR & PEACE

Yalu raids bring world demand for Korean peace

WITH conventions coming up and the race for the U.S. political jackpot about to head into the homestetch, the Truman Administration took a step in Korea which—while it might serve to weaken Republican charges of "appeasement" in Asia—certainly sharpened the danger of world war.

On June 23 and 24 hundreds of U.S. planes bombed hydro-electric power plants in Northeast Korea and on the Yalu River which supply power to Manchurian industry. The aftermath of the attack, of which none of Washington's "U.N. allies" were even informed let alone consulted, was redoubled confusion and consternation in "allied" countries and a weird comedy of "explanations" which contradicted each other and satisfied no one.

At the Panmunjom truce talks—reduced by the week-end to an exchange of notes, following the walk-out of U.S. negotiators when their ultimatum on POW exchange was rejected—N. Korean Gen. Nam Il charged UN forces (N.Y. **Times,** 6/26) with engaging in

> . . . dangerous steps which threaten to extend the Korean War. . . . [But] no provocative action taken . . . outside this conference will alter the reasonable and unshakable position on our side.

"PRIMARILY POLITICAL": Defense Secy. Lovett said the decision for the attack was "purely military" and so called for no consultation with anybody; but the political implications were so clear that few took him seriously. The **Wall St. Journal** attributed to a Defense Dept. authority the statement that

> . . . the blow was the beginning of a new "get tough" policy . . . to hit the enemy with "all the forces at our command" to break "the jam in truce talks."

Military commentator Hanson Baldwin (**NYT,** 6/26), recalling that early in the war Washington directly ordered Maj. Gen. O'Donnell not to bomb the Yalu power plants, considered the target "primarily political rather than military." Baldwin reported that after the truce-talk stalemate Washington and Tokyo drew up "plans for increasing military pressure against the enemy to force a truce," with "assaults on Yalu and N. Korean power plants at the head of the list." Carrying out this plan, he commented, might possibly make China's attitude "tougher to match our increased toughness."

BRITAIN IS MAD, SAD: In an explosive session in the House of Commons, where Foreign Secy. Eden said he approved of the bombings but "regretted" Washington's failure to inform Britain of them, Tory Lord Hinchingbrooke said the "UN point of view had lost its moral content" when the 38th Parallel was crossed; it was time to exercise "the arts of peace" instead of bombing China "to hell" to force a truce agreement. The debate brought from Labourite Sydney Silverman the first serious questioning in Commons of UN's justification in entering the war at all. (Public discussion of this has broadened in Britain since the publication there of I. F. Stone's **Hidden History of the Korean War.**) Silverman described the facts on which the Security Council based its June, 1950, decision as

> ". . . certainly incomplete, in some respects fraudulent. . . . The whole action founded on it was based on a deliberate attempt to deceive."

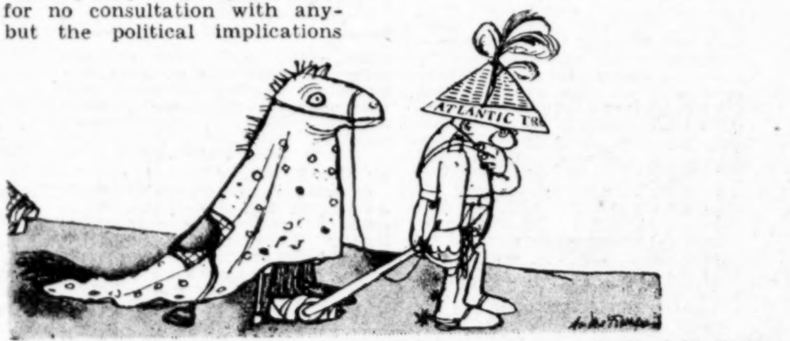
Left-wing Labour leader Aneurin Bevan, still considering N. Korea the aggressor, insisted that nothing now held up a truce except U.S. refusal to accept the Chinese revolution as an accomplished fact, to admit China to UN and to disband Chiang's forces on Formosa.

London's **Times** (6/26), accepting the bombings as "legitimate," showed deeply wounded pride on Washington's failure to consult. Liberal papers found them a "puzzling and disturbing" shift of policy (**News Chronicle,** 6/25), and not only "a change of policy" but "a bad change" (**Manchester Guardian,** 6/25). The Labourite **New Statesman & Nation** said (6/28):

> No amount of explanation by Field-Marshal Alexander [British Defense Minister who was in Korea just before, was told nothing] or second thoughts from Pentagon spokesmen can cover up the crime that was committed this week in Korea. . . . At the precise moment when a new approach to the POW problem was being made on the highest level and in concert with Mr. Nehru, the American generals decided to strike a blow which makes complete nonsense of the negotiators' efforts.

LABOUR IS IN THE MESS: Former Labour Defense Minister Shinwell

(Continued on Page 3)



Tribune des Nations

. . . and less than 'arf of that be'ind . . .

We've got your party, Mr. G.

Can the U.S. prosper without war orders?

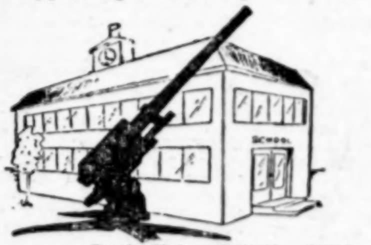
THAT is the question that most worries every working man and woman in the U.S. today.

In face of a stream of alarmed "peace scare" stories in the business press appearing whenever peace seems liable to break out, Harvard economist J. K. Galbraith replied to the question in a soothing affirmative in the N.Y. **Times** (6/22). Given an end to the arms boom, a serious immediate crash would be averted, wrote Galbraith, by "a vigorous housing and public works program . . . liberalization of social security." For the long run, the people's wants could easily provide markets for a higher level of consumption than in the past. Funds now going into war-plant investments could also be used:

> In housing alone, there are enormous shortages to be made up. In the field of public enterprise, there are schools, roads, hospitals and slums requiring attention. Peace would not quell the ambitions of dam-builders and land reclaimers—and the Missouri is still untamed.

In place of arms exports,

> . . . for an endless period ahead, whatever resources we can spare will be needed and wanted by the less fortunate masses of Asia, Africa, S. America and Europe.



Trade Union Bulletin, Berlin

Schools instead of guns.

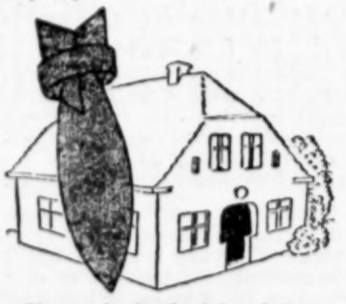
THAT'S OUR PROGRAM: Unmentioned by Galbraith:

- Both Republicans and Democrats, who are putting over the war program for big business, **oppose** most of the items in his program. They are using the war program to block social advances, and are even now seeking to further weaken labor unions so that wage cuts, as recently imposed in the textile industry, cannot be resisted.
- One and only one political party—convening next week-end in Chicago—advocates Galbraith's program to insure prosperity without using two-thirds of U.S. productive power for war.

Its name is the Progressive Party.

The shape such a peace-with-prosperity program must take (wage and pension raises, shorter hours, broader social security, public works, reopened foreign trade) has been outlined in the GUARDIAN (May 1).

No other party advocates such a program because there is no other peace party.



Homes instead of bombs.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION

SEE PAGES 5 to 8

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Let's call the roll!

A million progressive voters need the GUARDIAN to keep up with the fight. You can help them.

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$........ enclosed for the following subs at $2 a year, $1 for 30 weeks (indicate by name). ☐ $2 enclosed to renew my own sub.

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SENDER ....

REPORT TO READERS

A chance to say Hello to the Guardian folk

PRETTY HOT out your way? Pretty hot here too. But we haven't had too much time to feel uncomfortable because we've been sweating out this special 12-page Progressive Party Convention issue, planning the convention coverage, and laying out the Western tour of Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran.

As The Man Who Stayed Behind, I am privileged to writ this Report and to tell you some things about some people wh would never tell it themselves. In Chicago—those of you who are lucky enough to get to the Convention—you are cordially invited to a GUARDIAN get-together in the East Room of Ashland Auditorium Friday, July 4, at 5 p.m. It's going to be a shirt-sleeve and sun-dress session where you can finally get to know each other—and Editor Belfrage and John T. McManus, the GUARDIAN's general manager, and some other staff members who have been building circulation, getting advertising, raising money: in short, doing all the chores without which no newspaper—and especially yours—can survive.

JUST A COUPLE of things about Cedric and Jack: I've known Cedric since 1945 in Germany when we dreamed up—and I mean dreamed—the GUARDIAN. To meet him, to hear him speak so incisively about serious things with delightful humor and biting satire, is to know why the GUARDIAN has for four years maintained the standards and quality that it has. I've known Jack even longer—since about 1940—when we were working together for the Newspaper Guild on different New York dailies. The only regret I have about Jack's role on the GUARDIAN is that we've taken a crackerjack (that's no pun) critic and political pundit and given him the job of keeping our head above water permanently. No small job; but no small man either.

For the Californians who'll be coming to the various affairs in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas to meet Cedric, there will be another stimulating treat. He is being joined there by Tabitha Petran, whose brilliant analysis and painstaking research have made the WAR & PEACE roundup the most valuable and most eagerly anticipated section of the GUARDIAN. She's going to be on hand to speak and to answer just about any question you want to put to her.

IF YOU LIVE in Los Angeles and want to know the where-and-when of GUARDIAN get-togethers, call Marjorie Bein (Hillside 7653) or the GUARDIAN information desk at the IPP in L. A. (REpublic 2-8152). There's a partial listing of events on page 3 of this issue. We'll have more next week.

We'll be following the tour with as much interest as you, and we'll be carrying some on-the-spot observations soon from the travelers. So by all means, if you're in Chicago, meet th GUARDIAN folk there. And if you live on the West Coast, do ge to a GUARDIAN affair. You'll be richer for it and so will we—for some of our people having had the chance to meet in person the grandest readers any newspaper anywhere ever had.

—**James Aronson**

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THE MAIL BAG

Watch the polls

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I should like to extend the point about election vote counting brought up by Earl White (5/29):

I have twice been a poll watcher observing the counting of votes in the interests of independent candidates. On both occasions there were attempts by the conservative members of the election board to disregard votes for independent candidates on the grounds that their legal status was questionable; or to rule out individual ballots with votes for independent candidates by making every effort to find a technicality to disqualify them.

I would suggest the urgent advisability of having poll watchers representing the Progressive Party present at the polls to observe the counting of votes in every state whose election laws provide for poll watching. Making poll watching a systematic and regular part of Progressive Party political activity will help put an end to the not-so-strange weak showing in those areas where the Progressive Party is strong.

A Reader

A stitch in time

CHICAGO, ILL.

Our small sewing group wishes to send you our best regards for your wonderful job and $10 for your wonderful paper. We need you badly.

Helen Hinko

Peace wins in Idaho

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO

I would like to report to you what our Peace group here in Coeur d'Alene is doing for the peace movement. In the two months that we have had "Peace Will Win" in this area, we have had 13 showings. Four were to Pension Union groups in the outlying areas. One showing was at a small rural school and was received with enthusiasm. Everyone there wanted their names put on our mailing list.

As yet we have had no success in appearing before the labor unions but there is every indication that we will later on.

The film is received very well wherever we go and more and more people are being reached with the message for peace, which, of course, was our primary aim. We have found quite a number of people who are willing to take concrete action after seeing the film.

So no one can tell us here in Coeur d'Alene, that people don't want peace. They just need encouragement and some evidence shown to them that people everywhere are fighting for peace, and that they are not alone in their desires.

Opal Brooten

How crazy can you get dept.

Q. Can science predict a person's loyalty?

A. No, but it's wonderful that the Markle Foundation has given $100,000 to the Natl. Research Council to try to develop tests that will predict whether a citizen will commit treason—that is, at present, whether he or she will become a Communist.

—Louisville Courier-Journal, June 5. ("Let's Explore Your Mind," by Dr. Albert E. Wiggam).

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Dell Hymes, Bloomington, Ind.

On the local level

MOBERLY, MO.

Progressives and GUARDIAN readers should not neglect the thousands of local and county offices that will be filled in 1952. In the vast majority of these, there will be no PEACE candidates running, but there will be many honest Americans who can serve the people on the local level. It is not necessary that a candidate be "correct" on Siam or Bao Dai to be able to care for the needs of democracy in a county office.

(Rev.) David W. Janes

Joyce's job

CHICAGO, ILL.

Please convey my personal congratulations to GUARDIAN art editor Robert Joyce for a consistently fine job.

I. Tanenbaum

Whose palm?

MIAMI, FLA.

Pearl Cline wrote a good letter regarding the religion of Ike's family, in the June 12 issue. But she needs to be set straight on one matter. She says: "With America and the world in the palm of Ike's hand, how easily might he accomplish world peace."

Does not Pearl realize that it is Big Business, not Ike, that has the world in the palm of its hand? Ike is merely the stooge for Big Business, as are Truman and most of the rest of them. If Ike were in favor of peace, he would find himself out of a job very fast.

Hope Gamble

This England . . .

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

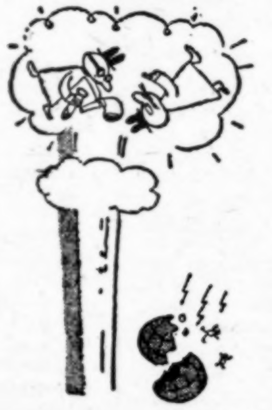
"This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle—This blessed plot, this realm, this England—" is now upon the rocks by Winston Churchill's own admission on June 11; and this, moreover, as the direct result not of the wars, but of this suicidal "cold war" which he himself initiated at Fulton six years ago.

Englishmen just love to quote the above Shakespeare and why not?

Truly the soil of old England "is now leas'd out" (Richard II, Act 1) in plots to foreigners for bomber bases, and truly she "is now bound in with shame," with the inky blots on rotten parchment bonds of the North Atlantim Pact!

Her soldiers in Asia, her soldiers in Europe, her foreign policy, her rearmament policy are all dictated to her; and as if that wasn't quite enough to pawn every Britisher's soul, her once proud navy must take its sailing orders from America too—Finis Britannia!

Edward Lowis



Dyad in Daily Worker, London

"Who's a warmonger?"

Attention, Rep. Wood!

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

The foulest un-American activity that has as yet come to my attention is evangelist Billy Graham's radio announcement that he is praying for Joseph Stalin.

Vincent Noga

Simple multiplication

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

At last we have the plan to put Hallinan and Bass in the White House, prevent World War II, repeal the Smith Act, save the Rosenbergs, and just about everything every progressive dreams of. The price is a dollar a week. Are all these things worth it to you people? Here is how the plan works:

Each GUARDIAN reader is to pledge one new $2 sub every two weeks or $1 a week till the end of the election campaign. Multiply the number of two-week periods between now and November by the number of GUARDIAN readers and again multiply this figure by the number of registered voters in the home of each new GUARDIAN reader. With the facts presented to all these people as only the GUARDIAN can do, we can accomplish all the things we dreamed of.

E. B.

Hand across the border

LAREDO, TEX.

About a month ago Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Presidential candidate of the Partido Popular (Popular Party) of Mexico, visited Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, sister city to Laredo, Tex., and held a rally. He condemned Wall St. imperialism and praised the people of the U. S. A.

A couple of weeks after, the U. S. Consul of Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, began to request some 40 people (most of whom are open sympathizers of Toledano) to come to the U. S. Consulate for matters regarding their local Border Crossing Permit to cross to Laredo, Tex., which they had held for years. All of these are Mexican citizens, residents of Nuevo Laredo, and they were subjected to an abusive witch-hunt questioning and requested to stool on others.

Most of these people refused to be bought or intimidated; consequently their permits were canceled as a reprisal. This is a cruel harm on most of them for economic and other reasons. The enclosed signed official document explains more of this matter and is a protest addressed to the President of Mexico, Miguel Aleman.

Joe Jacobs

How to avoid injury

SEATTLE, WASH.

Any person—confused, uncertain, asking unanswered questions, and whys, despairing or desponding, disillusioned, disgusted or scared stiff, yet able to read and think—does himself serious injury not reading the GUARDIAN in these bitter, sizzling times! Injury can sanely, sensibly be avoided at $2 a year!

Julia W. Cockcroft

The prospect at 15

BERGEN, N. D.

I am a boy going on 15 years and a sophomore in high school. In three more years I will be forced to go out and kill other people. If some people would stop and think how terrible it is to kill others or be killed ourselves, they would willingly fight for peace.

Darell Olson

No

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

In connection with "Rhee reje U. S. protest on the ban of Voice of America," would it be malicious of me to misquote and say, "Sharper than a serpent's tooth is the ingratitude of a faithless stooge?"

Muriel Symington

North Dakota drought

LIGNITE, N. D.

Thirteen counties in northwest North Dakota haven't had a good rain or snow for over two months. So we're in a drought. Cold weather and cut worms are taking the grain that is out of the ground, pastures are drying up. Will have to sell stock if rain does not come soon. This $5 is all I can do for this year.

L. L. Griffith

The Road to Understanding

By J. S. Wallace

He travels best who travels reason's road
At his own gait, with neither whip nor goad.
And, if you want to bring him where you are,
Don't stand and shout directions from afar:
Go where he is, and journey by his side
At once the good companion and the guide.

From scenes familiar let new scenes unfold,
We learn by living, not by being told.
Wed words to deeds; by any other plan
You win the argument and lose the man.
And, since we prize our own poor lantern light,
Don't prove him wrong: proceed from where he's right.

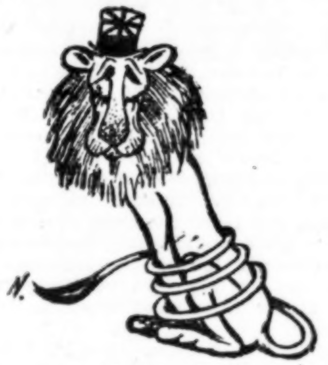
If any menace looms along the path
Be first to face, but not alone, its wrath.
Last but not least of all the things I say
Tho' the head lights, the heart must warm the way.

New Frontiers, Toronto

Yalu raids bring world peace demand

(Continued from Page 1)

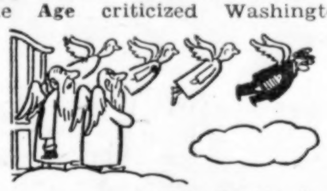
voiced on Saturday the "Bevanite" demand—now formally accepted by the Labour leadership—that China be immediately given "its proper place" in the Security Council and approached directly by UN for a diplomatic solution of the war. But the mild Labour resolution deploring the government's failure to get advance consultation, to be presented in Commons on Tuesday, showed the weakness of the party's position as a result of agreements made in Washington by Labour's Herbert Morrison as Britain's Foreign Secy. last year. Morrison complained last week that U.S. officials were "talking too much" about these agreements with himself for extended military action "under certain circumstances"—thereby interfering in British politics to help the Tories. While the Tories clearly would not stand up to Washington arrogance, Labour under present leadership was in no position to oppose them effectively.



Tribuna Wolnoski, Warsaw

The **N. Y. Times** reported from London (6/27) that "hardly a shade of British opinion is wholly in support of the government which approves the bombings." But British opinion could find no political expression short of a drastic shake-up in the Labour Party. First indication of the chances for such a shake-up were to be expected at the miners' union conference early this month, where (the **Tribune des Nations** London correspondent estimated, 6/16) there was a "more than 1 in 2" chance of the rank-and-file balking at the whole policy of rearming and subservience to Washington.

INDIA "AGHAST": The Yalu bombings left Washington's shaky anti-communist alliance shakier everywhere. French Socialist leader Guy Mollet, protesting against a policy "already condemned in the time of MacArthur," said Lovett's statement that the U.S. could bomb Manchuria "in an emergency" without consulting the Security Council was even "graver than the military events." In Australia the Melbourne **Age** criticized Washington's "too-independent attitude in the conduct of the war," urged the Australian government to send an observer to Panmunjom.



Daily Worker, London

"It's a new American commander who's taken over our fleet!"

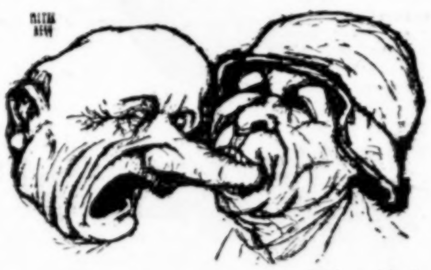
Premier Nehru said India was "aghast" and, as a UN member, strongly disapproved the conduct of the war "without proper consultation of member nations" (**NYT**, 6/26, 2/29). Meanwhile his sister, ex-ambassador to the U.S. Mrs. Pandit, publicly and pointedly denied "incorrect and misleading" statements in the press about the overall impression of the delegation to China she recently headed. She reaffirmed her original statement to members of parliament (**The Hindu**, Madras, 6/11) that she

> . . . was struck by China's rapid recovery toward normal condition after years of internal conflict and chaos. She found the nation immersed in constructive activities with unparalleled vigor and enthusiasm. Emancipation of the women, radical land reforms, and the unbounded energy of the youth which has been properly canalized were factors which released immense human power, which the Chinese People's Government ably utilized towards productive purposes. . . .

Acheson: out of European frying-pan into GOP fire

In Japan—where police violence and mass arrests met 400,000 Koreans and thousands of Japanese demonstrating against war in Osaka, Tokyo and other cities—**AP** reported newspaper editors were alarmed by the dangerous implications of the Yalu bombings. **Yomiuri** said UN had "played a trump card" but "perhaps risked an all-out war" with China. On Friday Premier Yoshida, formally reversing a June 18 statement by his Foreign Office, said Japan recognized Chiang's jurisdiction only over Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, not over mainland China.

In London en route to Berlin to put further pressure on reluctant West Europe to agree to rearm Germany, Secy. Acheson poured soothing syrup on the new storm of "allied" protests only to get himself in more trouble at home. Contradicting Lovett, he told MP's Britain should have been informed in advance of the Yalu bombings, and "expressed his regrets for the error" which was due to "an administrative mistake" (**NYT**, 6/27).



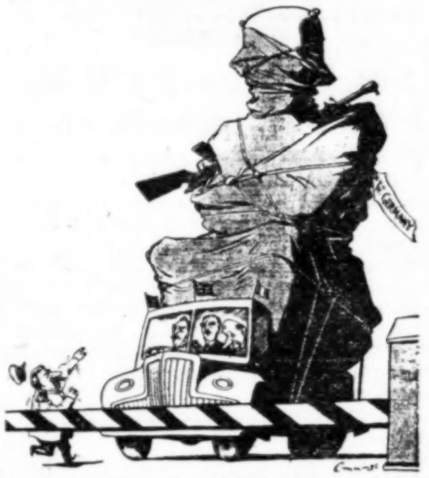
Action, Paris

WEST EUROPEAN UNITY

The words were no sooner out of his mouth than Sen. Styles Bridges (R.-N. H.) told the Senate he was "shocked" by Acheson's "apologetic attitude" in Britain. Acheson—whose embarrassment was heightened, over the week-end, when the State Dept. had to apologize abjectly to Owen Lattimore for withdrawing his right to travel following a "tip" found to be a "complete fabrication"—retorted that he had not apologized to the MP's. His explanation that the British "should have been informed" of the bombings, yet did not have "an absolute right to know," added to the confusion. Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.) promptly demanded a complete text of what Acheson **did** say; Reps. Lawrence Smith (R-Wis.) and L. M. Rivers (D-S.C.) added to the uproar by expressing themselves as "chagrined, embarrassed, insulted," "disgusted and infuriated."

GERMANY'S ZOMBIE: As Acheson flew on to Berlin, where a royal full-dress welcome was staged, Rep. E. P. Radwan (R-N. Y.) introduced a resolution to direct him to reveal any "secret agreements" he might have made with Britain on the Korean War. In Berlin he huddled with Chancellor Adenauer's Foreign Secy. on an "intricate formula" for a reply to Moscow's proposals for German unity talks—said to be a "compromise" with growing British and French insistence that the proposals not be summarily rejected lest "Moscow pose as the sole advocate of German unity" (**NYT** from Paris, 6/29).

But the difficulties in the way of Acheson's "peace contract" with West Germany continued to mount. French heel-dragging increased as top French UN delegates pointed out that, apart from all other factors, any treaty signed with Adenauer—a political zombie certain of electoral defeat—is worthless. In **Newsweek** (6/30) W. German opposition leader Schumacher blistered the treaties which, he wrote, not only give Germany no sovereignty but place "achievement of German unity in deadly, mounting peril."



Daily Express, London

BORDER INCIDENT

"Anything to declare?"

WALL ST. WARNING: From the **Wall St. Journal**'s Joseph Evans the Yalu bombings drew these sober reflections:

> The Communists do want a truce . . . [they] will not launch a major offensive. . . . The U.S. faces the prospect of being still mired in Korea a year from now, even two years from now. . . . There has been no clear design for bringing the war to an end, for a way out of the dreary debacle. . . . The planners intend to let the negotiations gradually peter out. . . . [But] a situation like Korea is not really static—you cannot indefinitely maintain troop morale, public support at home or even economic and political relations within S. Korea.

Mrs. Charlotta Bass, PP Vice-Presidential candidate, and Mrs. Vincent Hallinan speaking for the jailed PP Presidential candidate, released a statement calling the bombings

> . . . an arrogant anniversary gesture which can only be interpreted by the people of the world, who want to be left alone to build their countries in peace, as a threat to their security. The Taft-Eisenhower-Truman axis is responsible. . . The two old parties are now starkly revealed as war parties who will continue provocative bombings like these, and who will extend them beyond Korea unless the people hold them back.

GERM WAR (LAUGHTER): UN's Trygve Lie repeated his June, 1950, denunciation of N. Korea, but the cautious uncommunicativeness of delegates and officials on the bombings suggested that even the organization purportedly running the war had had no more advance information than the "allied" governments. In the Security Council, Soviet delegate Malik's proposal that all nations be urgde to ratify the Geneva protocol against germ warfare (the U.S. never ratified it) was smothered in a blanket of ten abstentions. Noting that eight of the abstaining ten had ratified the protocol, Malik accused them of "cowardice"; the packed audience of spectators in the Council hall laughed as the attempt to make outlawing of germ-war unanimous was defeated.

Pakistan's Dr. Bokhari alone dissociated himiself from U.S. delegate Gross's interpretation that the vote was "a measure of scorn and repudiation" of a Soviet "trick." Bokhari described his own feeling as one of despair rather than scorn. Several delegates were said to have urged Gross to give a pledge that the U.S. would not use germ-war unless an enemy used it first; Gross refused.

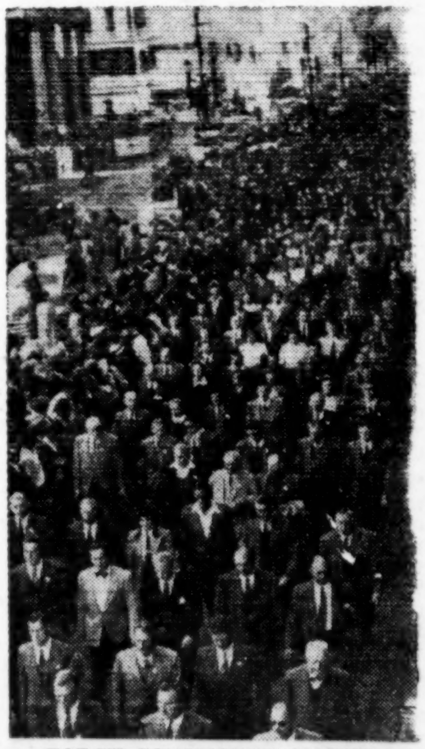
'Crucial test' against fascism in Africa

SOUTH Africa's mass civil disobedience campaign against the Malan government's neo-Nazi racist laws began on schedule in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. Hundreds of Africans, Indians and "Coloured" were arrested; on Saturday 54 persons wearing African Natl. Congress colors, who had peacefully defied the curfew regulations imposed on non-whites, were charged with "conspiring to commit public violence." Among those arrested were several African women, African leader Walte Sisulu and Indian leaders Nama-Sit and Cachalia. Sam Kahn, progressive representative in parliament of the Cape Africans who was recently deprived of his seat under the Suppression of Communism Act, was arrested in Capetown for defying an order to stay away from City Council meetings.

In a statement drawing attention of "individuals, churches, clubs, trade unions" to a "One-Million-Shilling ($140,000) Fund" opened by the African Natl. Congress (PO Box 9207, Johannesburg, S. Africa), the Council on African Affairs pointed out that a shilling (14c) is a third of the average African worker's daily earnings. Urging U.S. contributions to help the civil disobedience campaign, provide legal defense an protect families of the jailed, the Council said:

> The fight against fascism in S. Afri is a crucial test. . . . A victory for the country's 10 million Africans and other colored peoples in their brave and determined campaign will mean a victory for peace—a decisive set-back to those interests in Washington whose profits-and-war schemes depend upon racial and national opppression.

U.S. NEGROES ACT: To President Truman went a stirring 2,500-word petition urging "genuine and unequivocal" U.S. support of self-determination for the peoples of Africa as "the essential basis for lasting world peace," signed by over 160 Negro clergymen, educators, doctors, lawyers, cultural, civic and labor leaders. Text of the petition was released on the sponsors' behalf by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, keynoter at this week-end's PP convention; it will be submitted to the platform committees of all three party conventions.



TORCH COMMANDOS MARCH

They oppose Malan

GUARDIAN editors in Los Angeles

Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran will speak at the following meetings in Los Angeles. Other dates will be announced next week. For further information in Los Angeles call Marjorie Bein at Hillside 7653 or the Independent Progressive Party office, REpublic 2-8152.

- **JULY 11:** IPP and GUARDIAN meeting at Channing Hall of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., with Molly Gosman, candidate for assembly from 56th A. D. Entertainment. 8 p.m. 60c.
- **JULY 16:** IPP and GUARDIAN meeting, Factors Hall, 6075 W. Pico, with Horace V. Alexander, candidate for Congress from 20th C.D. 8:15.
- **JULY 17:** IPP and GUARDIAN meeting, N. Hollywood Women's Club, 5629 Vineland Av., N. Hollywood. Also Report on the National Convention. 8:15 p.m.
- **JULY 18:** S. Calif. ASP and GUARDIAN will present an original musical show, **Guardian Angels Revue**, at Royal Palms Hotel, 360 S. Westlake. Dancing, refreshments. $1.

COST OF LIVING

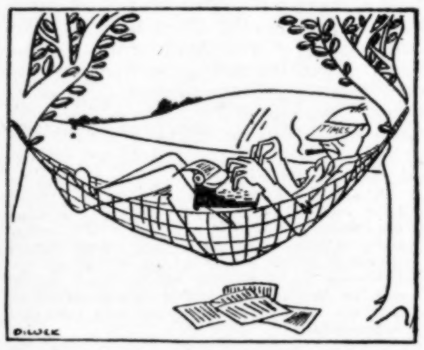
Congress begins lifting controls

LIKE Ray Robinson we are "knocking ourselves out," the **Wall St. Journal** noted last week:

> . . . pouring out our substance, beating ourselves down with taxes, paralyzing ourselves with controls, sapping our strength with inflation.

Congress, rushing to adjourn for campaign fence-mending, last week poured, beat and sapped. But when it came to controls which Wall St. and big business found "paralyzing," Congress moved toward final lifting of all price controls—keeping the paralysis only on wages.

The House had first favored lifting all price lids on consumer goods this week. But out of joint House-Senate conference came the final measure lifting controls on all processed fruits and vegetables (11% of the average household budget) but keeping other existing food controls until April 30. Rents would be decontrolled Sept. 30, affecting most large cities but not New York where local controls operate. Wages would remain controlled to April 30. The Wage Stabilization Board would continue but without any authority in labor disputes. (WSB had offended by favoring a wage rise for steelworkers.) Truman was expected to sign the bill.



Drapeau Rouge, Brussels

"There is no reason to assume that the work of a miner underground is harder, more dangerous or less healthy than many other occupations."

PRUNING THE ATOM: While walloping consumers in the pocket, Congress appeased popular resentment against high arms budgets paid for by high taxes. Despite Presidential warnings and apparent Congressional agreement that we are "on the crumbling edge of disaster," the House voted to slash **$3,731,250,000** from an omnibus appropriation bill. The cut included **$800** million taken out of the air base construction program, for which the President pleaded in particular, and more than 50% out of the Atomic Energy Commisson's request for supplementary atomic weapons funds. (Even cut, the sum was still staggering: **$1,485,000,000.**) It also cut **$243,993** more out of the foreign military aid budget. But the final sum would still be well over **$6** billion. Administration leader Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) was leading a fight for greater appropriations and House cutters would have to compromise with Senate spenders.

The President, it seemed, would need a graver international crisis than the Yalu bombings to force through all the sums he and big business needed for what **Business Week** called "one more thrust of inflation."

"DRUNKEN SAILORS": The nation's economy, thus steered, showed two directions. From a short-range viewpoint there was a pick-up: May retail sales were 6% above a year ago. Furniture retailers meeting at Chicago reported business up after a long slump. Ladies' garment buyers in New York were buying 15-25% more than a year ago.

Long-run indications were worse; the machine-tool industry has declined without having reached its World War II peak. Backlogs have fallen 10 months in 9 months' time. Cancellations of orders are reported "extremely high."

"Liberals who weren't there"

The day after Truman's veto of the McCarran-Walter bill (see p. 7) the House overrode him 278 to 113. Next day the Senate followed suit by 57 to 26—one more vote than the required two-thirds.

Of 43 Democrats present and voting, 25 voted against their party chief including majority leader Ernest W. McFarland (Ariz.).

Notable absentees were three Democratic Presidential hopefuls, all presumably opposed to the measure: Estes Kefauver, Robert Kerr, Brien McMahon. Their votes would have sustained the veto.

The **Wall St. Journal** (6/25) quoted one tool maker on the up and down of an arms boom:

> "They ordered like drunken sailors back in 1951 and are now canceling in the same manner."

LABOR

Steelworkers stir as 1st strike month ends

THE steel strike was rounding out its first month as the PP convention opened. Few pickets were on the line; union spokesmen were quiet; days passed without page-one mention of the fact that the nation's key industry had shut down.

Congress moved leisurely to "request" that the Taft-Hartley axe be swung. The President, who had predicted a first-class emergency, found it possible to do nothing.

Steel inventories were still high; with layoffs increasing throughout industry, steel was going begging for markets and a further decline in demand was likely. There was no place to put our production overseas or at home even with rearmament.

Mill-owners saw this as the time to whittle down the Wage Stabilization Board's wage ruling, break the union's power (in effect, damage the labor movement's power throughout the country) and hold out for a higher price boost. But while permission to boost prices was expected, it was a question how much of the boost manufacturers could expect to get in the sagging markets.

"SHAKY" PROSPERITY: To labor the strike was a crucial battle. If the CIO steelworkers, who had gone along with the mobilization program from the start, were to be beaten by the manufacturers or government or both, it would show labor its stake in "mobilization." If the steelworkers were forced to whittle down their comparatively mild wage demands and the manufacturers given a price boost, the wage-cut drive in textile and elsewhere would become a national pattern.

Though no steelworkers' official publicly drew lessons from the strike, it was becoming plainer that the strikers were demonstrating what they had stated in resolution at their last convention:

> The kind of prosperity resulting from this type of an economy [arms boom] rests on a shaky foundation. . . . Military spending is economically wasteful, adds nothing to national growth and does not increase our standard of living.

PEACE WILL END SLUMP: The strike, though few dared call it so, was a strike for a peacetime, not a wartime, economy. If steelworkers' leaders broke silence, read the issues straight, they would come close to the picture drawn in the PP's program, call for the same remedy: a return to a peacetime economy as a way out of threatened slump. The steelworkers' resolution, which tallies with the PP position, was to be carried to the PP convention by striking steelworkers from Pennsylvania and Indiana. When the convention opens in Chicago Friday night, the delegates will hear from striker-delegates directly.

At Chicago the twin issues of labor's rights and peace would be joined. Ewart Guinier, United Public Workers secy.-treas. and ALP vice-chairman, wrote the GUARDIAN June 19:

> Certainly there must be campaigns for big-power conferences, for an end to the war in Korea — but the campaigns for FEPC, for decent housing, for jobs must be waged as campaigns for peace. That is the tree on which the fruit hangs.
>
> We progressives now find the majority on our side. We have talked for a long time about winning rank-and-file labor and the Negro people to the progressive side. But it seems to me that before they join us, we must join them.

Newsdealers balk at N. Y. price squeeze

ON hundreds of N. Y. newsstands last Sunday there was no **Times**, no **Herald Tribune.** Earlier the Newsdealer Assn. of Greater N. Y., the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars had met, urged all newsdealers not to handle the two papers.

Both had upped their price from 15c to 20c. To newsvendors who were sure to lose out from the drop in sales the higher price would bring, the publishers offered only ½c of the increase. For example, dealers who paid 11c for a 15c **Times** now pay 15½c for a 20c **Times.**

Before the increase the Assn.'s heads met with the publishers, were told: "Take it or leave it." Almost all licensed dealers left it, according to Assn. spokesmen. Many stationery store owners, not in the Assn., followed suit.

(Continued on Page 9)

Eisentrumantaftenhower for President

By Elmer Bendiner

A TOY scottie dog modeled after Gen. Eisenhower's Telek went on sale last week; the "ding-dong belles for Bob" posed with R. A. Taft; Estes Kefauver posed in Indian headdress.

The campaign carnival was not altogether gay; the reality of war, the prospect of depression intruded themselves. Eisenhower's mass appeal seemed to have been misjudged. **Newsweek** (6/30) commented from Washington:

> As the days passed after Abilene, the clamor didn't develop. It may well be building now but even Ike's managers admit that Abilene was pretty much a failure. And it produced a sharp shift in strategy. Ike himself decided to cease relying simply on stirring and winning the public [and] to woo and win individual unpledged delegates. . . .

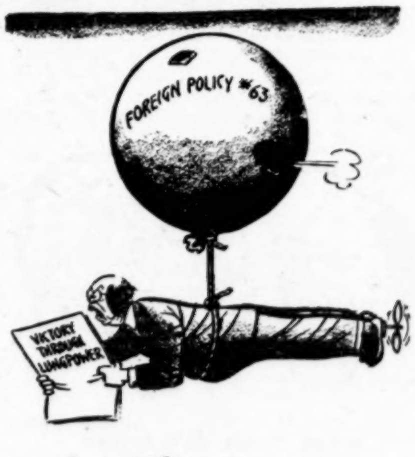
Even among machine-picked delegates it was hard to escape the real issues. The N. Y. **Times'** James Reston found it was

> . . . not a normal campaign . . . Never have the questions of these delegates been so searching. . . . [They are] overwhelmingly concerned about life and death, war and peace, the situation in Korea. . . . The questions and answers of these delegate meetings should be carefully studied by the professional politicians and the cynics. They show that the delegates are no less concerned about peace and majority rule than anybody else, and that while they are profoundly concerned about taxes and inflation, they realize that these things are all bound up in the larger issue of maintaining peace.

"BITTERNESS" IN GOP: Delegates found no life-and-death difference in Taft's and Eisenhower's answers. **Newsweek** noted:

> The fact that the Taft-Ike battle is one of personalities instead of issues is responsible for a bitterness without parallel in recent GOP annals. It is a bitterness that is unlikely to disappear even after a ticket has been picked. . . . Among the lower echelons on each side, there will be a lot of heel dragging right through the campaign.

The N. Y. **Daily News'** solution—to run **Taft** for President, Eisenhower for Veep—is unlikely not because the two differ in principle but because the real rivalry lies in their backers. Wall St. clearly likes Ike (see GUARDIAN, May 15, 1952); but Chicago's financial powers (America-Firster Robert E. Wood of Sears Roebuck, A. W. Harris of Harris Trust Co., the Patterson-McCormick press) favor Taft.



Herblock in Washington Post

Into the wild blue yonder

THE EMPIRES CLASH: Taft stresses Asia, Eisenhower stresses Europe because Wall St., not the Chicago group, has a stranglehold on European economy. **U. S. News** (6/13) reported:

> The so-called big-money families of the country are sharply divided between Taft and Eisenhower. With the Rockefeller and Ford families, Eisenhower is quite popular while some others in the oil, chemical, auto fields are strong for Taft.

The **Wall St. Journal** (6/16) drew the line this way:

> Auto empires clash in the Taft-Eisenhower battle. GM and Ford folks like Ike. Taft has big backing at Chrysler. . . . Michigan GOP National Committeeman Arthur Summerfield is on the hottest spot. His sympathies are Taftian—but his business ties are with GM.

Though Rockefeller interests dominate the oil industry for Eisenhower, Taft has some of it, mainly Joe Pew's Sun Oil and the Chicago-financed Texas Co.

"WORKING STIFF DISGUSTED": Whatever happened, Wall St. could scarcely lose the elections as matters stood. Eastern financiers, prospering under Truman, too, would have their finger in most war contracts and exert telling influence in Washington no matter which of the old-party candidates won.

By the same token, whichever old party won, labor and the people were slated to lose. The **United Mine Workers' Journal,** listing as the key unanswered question: "Why Korea, and how to bring the war to an end?" summed up:

> The man on the street is bewildered and disgusted with the line-up of candidates. . . . From the present outlook, the working stiff will likely be given a cold-deck deal.

UE's CHALLENGE: The United Electrical Workers, more hopeful than disgusted, offered all conventions an 8-point statement, entitled "The Rights We Live By," to be included in platforms. Declaring that "wars are not made by common people but by those who profit from wars, armament manufacturers, investment bankers," UE called on the parties to pledge:

> Curbing profiteers, tax reform exempting incomes below $4,000; repeal of Smith, McCarran, Taft-Hartley Laws, national FEPC, increased old-age pensions and unemployment benefits; 2 million units of low-cost housing a year for the next 10 years; federal education program.

It seemed safe to say that only this week-end's PP convention could answer the miners' unanswered question, include UE's 8 points in its platform.

Official Program:

The Third National Convention of the Progressive Party

W. E. B. DuBOIS
Keynote speaker

VINCENT HALLINAN
for President

CHARLOTTA BASS
for Vice President

SPECIAL EVENTS FOR DELEGATES

(All at Ashland Auditorium unless otherwise specified)

FRIDAY, JULY 4

10 a.m. (all day) REGISTRATION AND HOUSING OF DELEGATES: West Room.

11 a.m. PUBLIC HEARING ON PLATFORM: All members of the Platform Committee will be in attendance. Hugh Bryson, California; Earl Dickerson, Illinois; Katharine Van Orden, New Jersey; co-chairmen. East Room.

2 p.m. PANEL SESSIONS:

Negro and Minority Representation: Co-Chairmen: Mary Natividad Barnes, California, Willard Ransom, Indiana; Sec'y Thelma Dale, New York. Convention Floor, right side.

Labor and Domestic Welfare: Officers to be announced. Convention Floor, left side.

Farm: Officers to be announced. Lower Balcony, right side.

Youth and Veterans: Officers to be announced. Lower Balcony, left side.

Women: Co-Chairmen Marian LeSeur, Minnesota, and Pauline Taylor, Ohio. Lower Balcony, center left.

Business: Chairman Mandel Terman, Illinois; Sec'y Kyrle Elkin, New York. Lower Balcony, center right.

Academic and Cultural Freedom: Co-Chairmen Shirley Graham and Philip Morrison, New York. Upper Balcony, center right.

Nationalities: Co-Chairmen, Charles Cafiero, New York; Stanley Nowak, Michigan. Upper Balcony, right.

Church: Co-Chairmen Rev. Edward D. McGowan and Rev. William Howard Melish, New York. Upper Balcony, center left.

3 p.m. COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT PARTY RULES: Executive session. ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE: Executive session. NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE: Executive session. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: Executive session. All at Hotel Sheraton.

5 p.m. NATIONAL GUARDIAN GET-TOGETHER: All delegates invited. Editor Cedric Belfrage presiding. East Room.

PLATFORM COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMAN
Hon. Earl A. Dickerson of Chicago, noted attorney and president of the National Lawyers Guild.

SUNDAY, JULY 6

9 a.m. AREA PANELS ON ORGANIZATIONAL METHODS. **Southern States:** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia. Lower Balcony, center right. **Southwest-Rocky Mountain:** Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming. Lower Balcony, left. **Industrial Midwest:** Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, West Virginia, Wisconsin. East Room. **Plains States:** Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North and South Dakota. Lower Balcony, right. **Northwest:** Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington. Upper Balcony, center left. **New England:** Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont. Lower Balcony, center left. **Delaware and Pennsylvania:** Convention Floor, right side. **New Jersey:** Convention Floor, left side. **New York:** Refreshment Balcony.

3:30 p.m. MEETING OF NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

PROGRESSIVE
PARTY
FOR
PEACE

OBSERVER CREDENTIALS ARE REQUIRED
for non-delegates wishing to attend the
Progressive Party Jubilee Session
SATURDAY NIGHT, JULY 5 — ASHLAND AUDITORIUM

PROGRAM:

Vito Marcantonio • Mrs. Vincent Hallinan • Mrs. Charlotta Bass
Paul Robeson
Morris Carnovsky • Howard Da Silva • Delores Cobb
Betty Sanders • Laura Duncan • Ernie Lieberman

Observer credentials available at Ashland Auditorium
REGISTRATION FEE $1

Convention Sessions

FIRST SESSION

Friday, July 4, 8:00 p.m.

CONVENTION OPENS: Hon. Elmer A. Benson, Minnesota, National Chairman, and Paul Robeson, New York, National Co-Chairman.
INVOCATION: Rev. William Howard Melish, New York.
ADDRESS OF WELCOME: Hon. Robert Morss Lovett, Chairman, Illinois Progressive Party.
"THE PEOPLE SPEAK—FOR PEACE": Rank and File Delegates from all parts of America.
KEYNOTE SPEECH: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, New York.
REPORT OF ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.
PRELIMINARY REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMM.
MESSAGE FROM A STEEL STRIKER: John Gillespie, Pa.
NOMINATION OF VITO MARCANTONIO, New York, as Permanent Chairman.

SECOND SESSION

Saturday, July 5, 9:30 a.m.

INVOCATION.
ADDRESS OF PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.
REPORT OF PLATFORM COMMITTEE: First Section, Hugh Bryson, California, and Katharine Van Orden, New Jersey, co-chairmen.
REPORTS FROM PANEL DISCUSSIONS.
NOMINATION AND SECONDING OF PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES: Reuben W. Borough, California; Rev. Charles A. Hill, Michigan.
ADDRESSES: C. B. Baldwin, Natl. Secretary and Campaign Manager; Thelma Dale, Asst. Campaign Manager.

THIRD SESSION

Saturday, July 5, 8:00 p.m.

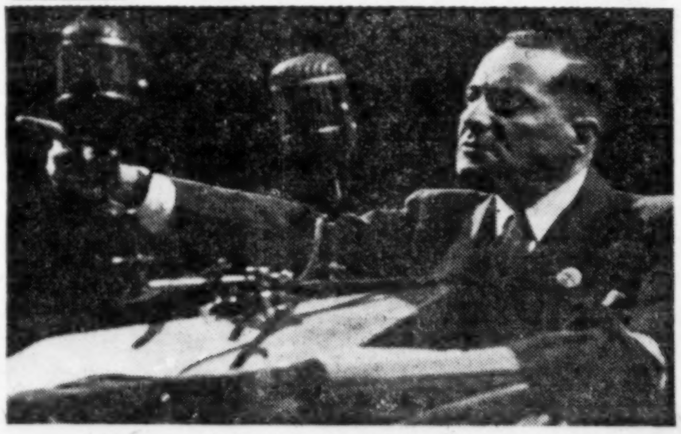
INVOCATION: Rev. Edward D. McGowan, New York.
OPENING ADDRESS: Hon. Vito Marcantonio, New York.
ACCEPTANCE SPEECHES:
 Vivian Hallinan, representing Vincent Hallinan of California, candidate for President.
 Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass of New York, candidate for Vice-President.
APPEARANCES BY: Morris Carnovsky, Howard Da Silva, Delores Cobb, Betty Sanders, Ernie Lieberman.
FINALE: Paul Robeson.

FOURTH SESSION

Sunday, July 6, 11:00 a.m.

INVOCATION: Rabbi S. Burr Yampol of Illinois.
FINAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.
REPORT OF PLATFORM COMMITTEE: Second Section, Civil Rights; Hon. Earl Dickerson, Illinois, chairman.
REPORT OF COMMMITTEE ON PERMANENT PARTY RULES.
REPORT OF NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE; ELECTION OF PARTY OFFICERS.
CONVENTION WINDUP: Sendoff to Delegates.

CONVENTION SESSIONS
ASHLAND BOULEVARD AUDITORIUM
1608 W. VAN BUREN ST., CHICAGO
Corner Ashland Blvd. (1600 West) and Van Buren St. (400 South).
Convention Telephone:
MOnroe 6-9738 (if no answer after midnight: TAylor 9-8304)



PERMANENT CHAIRMAN
Hon. Vito Marcantonio of New York, nominated for permanent chairman of the 1952 National Convention by the National Campaign Committee of the Progressive Party.

PROPOSALS FOR THE PLATFORM

Main planks on major issues to be discussed in convention

Among the main planks presented to the PP Platform Committee, to regional platform hearings and to the GUARDIAN, which will be discussed at Platform Comm. hearings and at the convention, are those summarized below:

Peace

1. We must end the Korea war at once.

2. End the rearmament of a disunited Germany; sit at the conference table with Britain, France, the U.S.S.R. to make Germany a disarmed neutral.

3. A 5-power peace conference would give hope to billions.

4. We must solemnly renounce the A- and H-bombs as instruments of policy; make control and inspection of atomic stockpiles and installations, and reduction of all other arms, a part of U.S. foreign policy.

5. Open trade between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., China, and Eastern Europe.

6. Encourage the aspirations of all colonial peoples for freedom; we can no longer tolerate financial and military support to dying imperialisms.

7. Extend full freedom and economic aid to the Puerto Rican and Philippine peoples; cherish democratic movements in Latin America; reverse the policy of support to S. American dictatorships.

8. Allocate 50 billions for social and economic security. We urge a UN fund of this size to lift economic, health and welfare standards of the world's underdeveloped areas.

Civil Rights

For all Americans

1. Repeal the Smith and McCarran Acts; end Smith Act prosecutions and McCarran Act hearings; grant unconditional pardons and restoration of civil rights to all convicted under Smith Act.

2. Prohibit lawless use of the FBI as political police.

3. End the loyalty program both for millions of government workers and millions more in private industry.

4. End use of the Justice Dept., grand juries, courts, immigration laws and McCarran Acts to harass, jail and deport native or foreign-born Americans because of their trade union or political activities or views.

5. End the judicial attack on independence of the bar and right of accused to counsel of their own choice. Free the lawyers who have had the courage to defend advocates of unpopular causes.

6. Abolish the House Un-American Activities Comm., Senate Comm. on Subversive Activities, similar state and local committees and their power to subvert constitutional liberties and U.S. concepts of fair play.

7. Establish fair procedures for all legislative investigating committees.

8. End the growth of secrecy which enables major governmental decisions to be made without public debate, and corruption to fester.

9. Maintain traditional U.S. separation of church and state; protect the freedom of secular education.

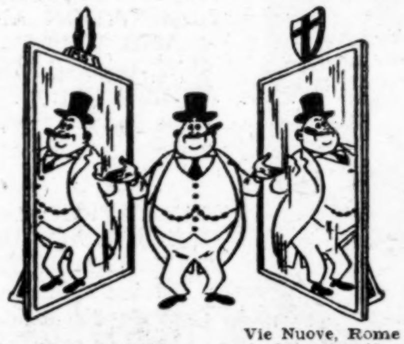
10. Wipe out corruption in political life—not only cheap and small grafters and tax stealers, but big grafters who steal our resources, get big tax rebates and war contracts.

For the Negro people and other minorities

1. Pass a federal FEPC bill with enforcement powers to provide equality in job opportunities and training for all minorities.

2. Pass an anti-poll-tax bill enabling the Negro and poor white to vote in the South.

3. Pass an anti-lynch bill putting full power of the federal govt. against lynchers and those engaged in mob or individual violence against minorities.


Vie Nuove, Rome

"As you see, there are two parties completely opposed to one another."

4. Full, effective prosecution by order of the President, under civil rights and all other federal statutes, of violation of the rights of Negro citizens and other minorities.

5. End segregation in housing; tear down jimcrow ghettoes Negroes and other minorities are forced to inhabit, replacing them with low-cost, unsegregated homes.

6. Presidential action to eliminate segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, federal agencies and in the Panama Canal Zone.

7. Home rule for the Dist. of Columbia; a civil rights act to end segregation in the nation's capital.

8. Adequate representation of the Negro people in political life, in elective and appointed public offices.

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
Hon. Elmer Benson of Minnesota, former governor of his state, former United States Senator.

Security and Jobs

1. Restore the people's purchasing power by strict imposition of price, rent, profit ceilings.

2. Raise labor's wages by return to free collective bargaining. End the wage freeze, repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

3. Begin a housing program that will provide two million low-cost homes per year until slums are replaced, all Americans provided with decent homes.

4. Enact the principles of the Brannan Plan to raise farmers' purchasing power, ensure parity for all crops, increase production, lower food prices for consumers.

5. Cut the arms program and lower taxes on all incomes below $4,000 a year. Raise corporate taxes; end the unfair discrimination of sales taxes.

6. Develop and conserve all natural resources; expand the river valley program, stop disastrous floods, provide cheap power and water.

7. Health insurance for all without discrimination; a million new hospital beds, more medical centers, full-scale training program for much-needed medical, dental and mental health personnel.

8. Enact an aid-to-education program to build 100,000 school-rooms a year, raise teachers pay, end segregation in education.

9. Federal unemployment insurance to provide an average $40 weekly wage benefit for 52 weeks; extend coverage to all.

10. Extend the Social Security Act to all workers and all self-employed, providing minimum old-age and disability benefits of $150 monthly. Increase maternity benefits, children's allowances.

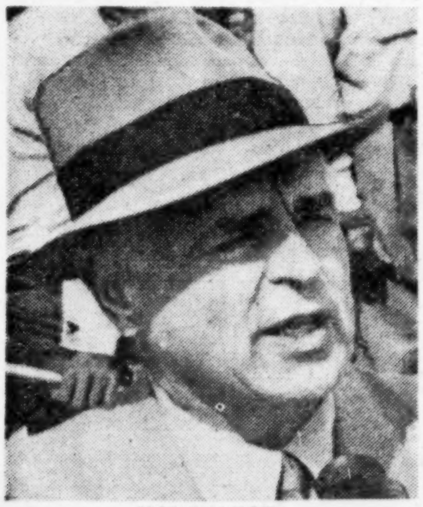
11. Provide and guarantee equal job opportunities and training for Negroes, Mexican-Americans and other minority groups. Establish nation-wide training centers for youth, for women.

12. Increase min. hourly wage to $1.50.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMAN
Paul Robeson of Connecticut, world famous baritone, peace leader, publisher of FREEDOM.

NATIONAL VICE-CHAIRMAN
Hugh Bryson of California, president [illegible] the Marine Cooks & Stewards Uni[illegible] co-chairman, Platform Committee.

PLATFORM COMM. CO-CHAIRMAN
Katharine Van Orden of New Jersey, civic leader, former national president of the League of Women Shoppers.


NOMINATOR
Reuben W. Borough of California, candidate for U.S. Senator, will nominate Vincent Hallinan for President.

ASST. CAMPAIGN MANAGER
Thelma Dale of Pennsylvania, economist, trade union organizer; secretary, Committee to Elect Negroes to Public Office.

CAMPAIGNER
Vivian Hallinan, wife of the Presidential candidate, who is presently conducting his national campaign.

NOMINATOR
Rev. Charles A. Hill of Michigan, Detroit civic leader, will nominate Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass for Vice-President.

NATIONAL SECRETARY
C. B. Baldwin of Connecticut, former Farm Security Administrator, 1952 campaign manager.

NATIONAL VICE-CHAIRMAN
Mrs. Senora Lawson of Virginia, Richmond civic leader, organizer of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice.

HOW PHONY CAN THE DEMOCRATS GET?

The civil rights record

By Lawrence Emery

LAST week President Truman vetoed the McCarran-Walter immigration bill using "some of the strongest language he has used in recent messages to Congress," quoting not only the Bible on equality of all mankind but the almost-forgotten Statue of Liberty inscription. The day before, in a stirring letter to the NAACP's 43rd convention, he assured the 750 delegates from 35 states that he still stands for his 1948 10-point civil rights program.

With November approaching and the President's "Fair Deal" speeches warmin[illegible]o the occasion as in '48, many w[illegible]ered how long the people (and especially minorities) would stand for talk without action in the civil rights field. Even as Truman's letter was read, his Senate parliamentarians were once again side-tracking a bill for fair employment practices, a corner-stone of his civil rights program. The N.Y. **Times** (6/25) reported:

> **The bill was reported to the Senate at a stage of an adjournment rush that left its chances for consideration by this Congress remote if not wholly out of the question.**

GERMANY FIRST: The adjournment rush had no effect on legislation that Truman really wants. The **Times** reported the same day that Senate leaders

> **. . . moved decisively to assure ratification of the Allied peace and defensive agreements with West Germany before the adjournment of this election-year Congress.**

The Senate Democratic Policy Committee, which controls the Senate calendar, shunted the FEPC bill aside, put the German "peace contract" on top of the "must" list.

Next day's veto of the McCarran-Walter bill freezing and intensifying racial restrictions on immigration was a further effort to bolster Truman's civil rights position with words. (Congress promptly overrode the veto.) But again, by neat coincidence, action belied the words: the same day a Senate appropriations subcommittee confirmed reports that the Justice Dept. is spending $750,000 a year to maintain six concentration camps for "subversives" and "security risks" to be rounded up in ca[illegible]f war; the six camps can hold so[illegible] 15,000 persons.

THE GOP VERSION: Guaranteeing that civil rights will be a hot campaign issue is a fact noted by poll-taker Elmo Roper, after a survey which convinced him that it is "not a myth that the Negro vote can swing it either way." The percentage of Negroes voting in the North, he found, is far higher than that of whites, and 62% of Negro voters lean toward the Democrats.

Although GOP hopefuls Taft and Eisenhower have both plumped for "state's rights," Republican wooing of the Negro vote has already begun; in the Senate, seven Republicans joined with eight Democrats in sponsoring the side-tracked FEPC bill (Taft voted against it in committee).

The GOP record on civil rights matches the Democrats'; although Republican speeches never came near Truman's for strong language, the party's 1948 platform equaled the Democrats' on promises. But in the second session of the 80th Congress, which the Republicans controlled, sixteen separate FEPC bills died in committee in the House; one such bill was reported out in the Senate, never called up for floor action; anti-poll-tax legislation was killed by parliamentary maneuvering in the Senate; neither house ever voted on anti-lynch bills.

FUTILE TALK: When the Democrats took control of both houses with the 81st Congress, they did no better; from the White House came little if any pressure to translate Truman's strong words into law. In the first session, 1950, an FEPC bill was introduced in each house, but no action taken. In the second session, after weeks of debate and political maneuvering, an FEPC bill with enforcement provisions was finally killed by adoption (222 to 178) of a bill providing voluntary compliance—which would have made it worthless. But even this mild expression was dropped in the Senate after two filibusters against it. In 1951 there was no action on FEPC in either house; this year there have been hearings but no action.

In 1949 the House approved (273 to 116) an anti-poll-tax bill; it died in committee in the Senate. There has been no Congressional action against the poll-tax since.

In 1949 both the House and the Senate held hearings on several anti-lynch bills, but none was reported out. There has been no action since.

THE ROAD IS BARRED: Biggest obstacle to full consideration of civil rights legislation in the Senate was Rule 22, which required a two-thirds vote of members present and voting to shut off debate—but even this did not apply to a motion to take up a bill; measures could be filibustered to death without getting on the floor. In 1949 the Wherry amendment permitted debate to be shut off on petition of 16 members by a vote of two-thirds of the entire Senate membership (64 votes). The amendment, if anything, made a filibuster even harder to break.

In 1951 four separate amendments to make it a little more possible to shut off debate were introduced; hearings were held on all of them, but no action was taken; the Senate still operates under the Wherry amendment to Rule 22.

Truman can safely quote on civil rights anything from the Bible prophets to Jefferson, Paine or FDR—as long as filibustering is allowed in the Senate.

THE PROPHECY THAT WAS TESTED

Why the Third Party was able to weather the 4-year storm

By Robert Morss Lovett
Hon. chairman, Progressive Party of Illinois

TWENTY years ago a book was published in which the two big parties' failure to satisfy the people's needs, and the impossibility of capturing either for the public good, were powerfully argued. The alternative—sanctioned by the most inspiring chapter in our history and the leadership of democracy's greatest hero—was a new party. The obstacles to this were eloquently set forth: the personal discouragement involved in political toil, the desertion of trusted leaders through the bribery of social and political preferment. Worst of all,

> **. . . the mighty who now rule both business and politics will oppose the peaceful and democratic movement of the masses with such concentrated fury that they will precipitate a civil and class war.**

The author of the book was Sen. (then Prof.) Paul H. Douglas; it was dedicated to Norman Thomas; John Dewey wrote a foreword; the title, **The Coming of a Third Party.**

THE TEST: Sixteen years later, in 1948, the prophecy was finally tested by formation of today's Progressive Party. Devoted men and women bore the heavy burden of organization.

The party survived the persecution of its members by police and American Legion mob-rule, the dismissals from academic, civic and private employment, the desertion of its leaders. The only point in which Mr. Douglas' prophecy has failed is "the precipitation of a class war." "The mighty who now rule both business and politics" found another way: by legislation to close the ballot to the third party.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
Welcome to the delegates

(Truman carried the vital states of Ohio and Illinois by 17,000 and 32,000 respectively and might have been defeated had the Progressive vote been taken at the polls.)

The refusal of the people's right to vote for candidates of their own choosing is the greatest mass attack on democracy. To restrict election to two parties, neither of which represents the people's real interests (**vide** Sen. Douglas), which have muddled their constitutional functions of action and opposition, which under the procurement of such as Dulles and McCarthy have committed fornication together and, as the Bible puts it, wrought confusion—all this in 1948 was a crime. In 1952 it makes doubly vivid Douglas' sinister warnings that in the denial of the political process the

> **. . . whole struggle will be fought out on quite a different plane and with different methods.**

GANG-UP ON THE PP: Illinois affords an example of the defeat of the democratic process of submitting to the electorate candidates to whom they wish to entrust the public welfare. After the fear inspired by Theodore Roosevelt's campaign in 1912, the election law was amended to require 25,000 signatures on a petition to place a new party on the ballot. After LaFollette's campaign of 1924 it was further amended: the 25,000 must include 200 from at least 50 of the state's 102 counties. In 1948 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld this law—though three justices dissented, holding the requirements so onerous as to deny constitutional rights.

The Progressive Party nevertheless met these requirements; but local electoral boards declared invalid the names of some who, it was alleged, had voted in a primary held in April.

TOUGHER & TOUGHER: Frightened by this evidence of Progressive Party vitality, the legislature in 1951 passed almost surreptitiously an amendment to make it a crime, punishable by a $1,000 fine and six months in jail, to circulate a petition in any county of which one is not a registered voter.

Strangely enough, that pure young man Adlai Stevenson approved this law without even giving notice of public hearing.

[The State Supreme Court recently invalidated the section of this law prohibiting canvassing by non-county residents, after a hard fight by the Illinois PP. Ed.]

The statute of Illinois was the most drastic of state laws affecting a new party. Other states, however, imitated its severity. Ohio set the filing date as early as Feb. 6, and required 450,000 signatures.

"LIFE-ENHANCING" TASK: The party remains undiscouraged. Its working members may take heart from Sen. Douglas' inspiring words. He writes of

> **. . . two sources of emotional reinforcement . . . the fascination of the process . . . the importance of the object sought. Anyone who really takes his coat off and works in the movement to make government serve the common man will find problems which will tax his powers to the utmost and will be as much of a stimulant as mountain climbing, exploring, research, or any of the other pursuits which are life-enhancing.**

It is needless to remind the reader that Douglas has renounced the third party movement and declared the Progressive Party a bastard, addicted to bad company.

It may be recalled that history is full of bastards from William of Normandy to Don John of Austria, who have excelled their legitimate brethren in daring and achievement.

Chicago Convention Hotels

HOTELS	ADDRESS	PHONE
Alamac	1934 W. Jackson Blvd.	SE 3-5230
Alcazar	3000 W. Wash. Blvd.	VA 6-7500
Allerton	701 N. Michigan Av.	SU 7-4200
Atlantic	316 S. Clark St.	WA 2-2646
Bedford	1310 W. Jackson Blvd.	HA 1-6044
Bismark	171 W. Randolph St.	CE 6-0123
Boulevard	2801 W. Warren Blvd.	NE 2-3070
Brevoort	120 W. Madison St.	FR 2-2363
Carlos	3834 N. Sheffield Av.	BI 8-3500
Chicagoan	67 W. Madison St.	AN 3-4000
Congress	520 S. Michigan Av.	HA 7-3800
Con. Hilton	720 S. Michigan Av.	WA 2-4400
Croydon	616 N. Rush St.	DE 7-6700
Ft. Dearborn	401 S. LaSalle St.	WA 2-5700
Hamilton	20 S. Dearborn St.	RA 6-6100
LaSalle	LaSalle & Madison Sts.	FR 2-0700
Lawrence	1020 W. Lawrence Av.	LO 1-2100
Midland	172 W. Adams St.	ST 2-3084
Morrison	79 W. Madison St.	FR 2-9600
Olympic	1015 N. Clark St.	WH 4-4290
Pershing	6400 S. Cottage Grove	MU 4-6400
Rosemoor	1622 W. Jackson Blvd.	CH 3-2900
Sherman	N. Clark-Randolph Sts.	FR 2-2100
Sutherland	4659 S. Drexel Av.	AT 5-2100
Vel Mar	2120 W. Jackson Blvd.	SE 3-3624
Y M C A	826 S. Wabash Av.	WA 2-3183

CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS:
Sheraton, 505 N. Michigan Av.
WHitehall 4-4100

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Hallinan, jailed, gets NBC 'offer'

THE Natl. Broadcasting Co. last week offered facilities to the Progressive Party—with a joker attached that turned the offer into a taunt, prompted PP secy. C. B. Baldwin to call it another "brazen denial of time." NBC's campaign forum "Hats in the Ring" wrote:

> **If appropriate arrangements can be made for Mr. Hallinan himself to appear we will offer him the use of our facilities.**

PP Presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan is a federal prisoner; NBC did not extend the offer to Vice-Presidential candidate Mrs. Charlotta Bass or to any other PP spokesman.

PP Attorney David Rein referred the "offer" as an additional piece of evidence to the Federal Communications Comm., now considering charges that the PP is denied equal access to the air. The networks have guaranteed 96 hours each for the GOP and Democratic conventions, 15 minutes for the PP.

PP-ers get heavy Dem. vote in N. Cal.

FROM California's 7th Congressional District (around Oakland) came a primary vote that stirred progressive hopes nationwide. The Independent Progressive Party's John Allen Johnson, cross-filing in the Democratic primary, polled 18.5% of the total Democratic vote—one-third the vote of the winner, incumbent Rep. John J. Allen. Since Allen also won the Republican primary designation, the race will be between IPP's Johnson and Republocrat Allen.

In the 18th Assembly District, IPP's Zoe Borkowsky polled 26% of the Democratic vote in a cross-filing campaign and will also fight it out against a single Republocrat candidate.

The Bay area seemed to be following a California pattern: significant support for IPP candidates among old-party voters, and a sharply-drawn election fight between IPP on one hand and a single Republocrat candidate on the other. Hottest such race is that between IPP's Reuben Borough and Sen. Knowland (R-Formosa) for U.S. Senate.

THE CLASH WITH KNOWLAND: Analizing Knowland's Democratic primary victory over Rep. C. D. McKinnon, Borough said the people never knew where McKinnon stood. Drawing a campaign lesson, Borough said:

> **"They knew he was born, they knew he was married, they knew how many children he had, but not how many ideas. He kept his ideas dark."**

Borough, who will nominate Vincent Hallinan for President at Chicago this week, charted his own campaign thus:

> **"I shall clash with Sen. Knowland all along the line. I shall clash with his war hysteria. I shall clash with his anti-labor bigotry. I shall clash with his conspiratorial enmity against civil liberties and the Bill of Rights and his hatred of socialism and political progress generally.**
>
> **"In this final campaign I expect wide support from the workers everywhere—particularly from trade unionists. I expect them to be with me in my fight against Sen. Knowland, the man whom the top leadership of the AFL branded as labor's No. 1 enemy who must be marked for defeat. I am the inescapable alternative to Sen. Knowland."**

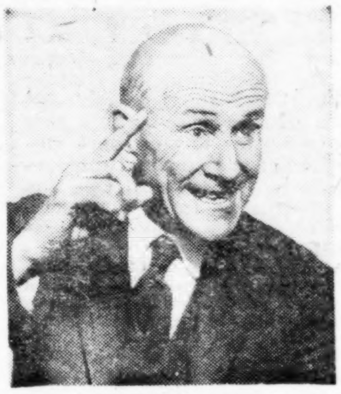
SOUTHERN DIRECTOR
Henry Moss of Alabama, veteran fraternal organizer in the southern states.

When Eugene Debs ran for President

THE fence-sitters and the faint-hearted always said that anybody who voted for Eugene Debs was just throwing his vote away: he didn't have a chance to be elected President. Debs answered them:

> **"You argue that you are throwing your vote away. That's right. Don't vote for freedom—you might not get it. Vote for slavery—you have a cinch on that."**

Day-to-day U.S. politics is usually a combination of deals, graft, and shabby compromises; in Presidential elections, silly double-talk and cheap demagogy are added features. If the voters don't always get bread, at least they get a circus every four years. But the Debs campaigns were different. They meant something.



EUGENE DEBS
52 years ago

"CANDIDATE AT HOME": In 1920 the Socialist campaign was different in another way. Debs was in Atlanta prison, serving a ten-year sentence for opposition to World War I. When asked how he would conduct his campaign, he joked:

> **"I will be a candidate at home in seclusion. It will be much less tiresome and my managers and opponents can always locate me."**

Federal authorities let Debs issue one campaign bulletin a week from jail. Even under these conditions, he ran up a banner for progressive voters. He still demanded that the Socialist Party should be controlled by the common people and should stand without hedging for the common people's rights:

> **"There is a tendency in the party to become a party of politicians instead of a party of workers. That policy must be checked, not encouraged. We are in politics not to get votes, but to develop the power to emancipate the working class."**

NO ARMCHAIRS: The campaign was not all Eugene Debs. He tried, from his cell, to provide a banner; but it was thousands of supporters all over the country who picked the banner up and carried it through. Debs got a million votes that November (U.S. population in 1920: 105,000,000). He got them because his weekly campaign statements were supplemented by millions of leaflets, by countless canvassers ringing doorbells, by meetings, by the speeches of local candidates.

Why did Debs inspire so much support, so much affection? They voted for him because they believed in him. They had confidence in him because he had confidence in them. He never thought a handful of leaders or armchair strategists could provide salvation for the people. The people had to shape their own salvation.

"WITH THE PEOPLE": So Debs always lived with the wage-earners and poor farmers. He learned about their problems from them; found out what they wanted, not what they "should" want. They voted for him because, in a basic way, they had written his speeches. Debs fought with the people, not for them. As he said, "When I rise, it will be with the people, not from the people."

He had magnificent courage; he also had a vision. He knew well enough, in endless detail, what was wrong with the U.S. But he also saw what this country could be, what it could produce, if it was organized for the people's welfare. He saw that men and women could work less and have more, if only the exploiters and chiselers and grafters were made to work like everybody else.

He knew he was continuing a fight against monopoly that began when this country began. That a small group of ruthless men have always tried to monopolize the economic gravy, political power, and social prestige. That he was continuing, under other conditions, the same fight that was waged by Jefferson, Lincoln and John Brown.

He had his roots in the past, but he lived in the present, and he fought for the future.

Louisville PP fights firing of chairman

THE Jefferson Qmr. Depot at Louisville, Ky., has suspended Walter Barnett, charged with being a loyalty risk but given no bill of particulars. A Negro veteran, wounded at Iwo Jima, Barneett had been at the depot two years cleaning tents and polishing canteens for re-use by the army. Outside his working hours, Barnett is chairman of the Louisville PP and board member-at-large of the Louisville Negro Labor Council.

In 1950, after three Negroes were denied treatment at Hardinsburg Hospital, he and his wife, Mrs. Mary A. Barnett, launched the Interracial Hospital Movement which gathered 11,000 signatures calling on Gov. Lawrence Wetherby to open hospitals to Negroes. As a direct result of that campaign the state assembly at its last session passed an act forbidding any hospital to deny emergency treatment to Negroes.

Shortly before he was fired Barnett was circulating the Negro Labor Council's petition calling for legislation to eliminate discrimination on the job because of race, color, sex, politics or religion. (Earlier this year Frank Grzelak, draftsman at the depot for 28 years, had been fired because his wife is a PP member).

"TRYING TO BRIBE ME": Barnett had been circulating the council's petition on his own time on the morning of April 18. Later that day Brig. Gen. L. O. Grice called him in, offered to promote him two grades. Barnett said later:

> **"They were trying to bribe me to quit working for my people, but I wouldn't."**

Ten days later Barnett was suspended. Nathaniel McKenzie, Negro Labor Council chairman, commented:

> **It is part of a movement against the Negro people, growing out of big business's war upon the colonial peoples of the world. It is a violation of the right of free speech. It is also part of a drive to throttle those who speak out for peace and political freedom. . . . We will work to set aside the suspension of Barnett because we know he is a loyal American devoted to the cause of peace, freedom and decent jobs for all. We will join the already wide movement to reverse the firing of Grzelak. It becomes clearer that the fights for peace freedom and justice cannot be separated.**

The Negro weekly **Louisville Defender** editorially defended Barnett's right to circulate the petitions, then said:

> **The Progressive Party is one of our several parties. It has not been outlawed. The hundreds of Americans who belong to it are loyal citizens. Like the members of other parties, they have their opinions about the issues which affect our national and international welfare and destiny. They are as opposed to subversion as are the members of the other parties. They have the right to choose the Progressive Party in preference to other parties, and they should not be branded as un-American for doing so.**

Connecticut nominates Eslanda Goode Robeson

THE People's Party, Connecticut's PP, in convention at New Haven last week nominated Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson for Congresswoman at large, launched a campaign to gather 12,000 signatures to put her and other local candidates on the ballot.

ESLANDA ROBESON
For Congress

Connecticut's '48 vote retained the national ticket's place on the ballot.

Delegates heard Mrs. Robeson keynote, then ALP secy. Rev. Edward McGowan; United Electrical Workers intl. rep. Clifford McAvoy; and Gerhard Hagelberg, assoc. editor of the **German-American.**

The convention restated the PP's program, urged "all political parties to provide for Negro representation on all levels of elected and appointed offices."

MASS. GOING STRONG: The Massachusetts drive to win the national ticket a place on the ballot had topped 42,000 by last week-end. July 22 is the deadline for the required 58,000.

Invite the Peace Candidates to your own home neighborhood

Via the exciting new campaign film, "Meet the Peace Candidates," now available for national distribution.

MEET VINCENT HALLINAN, famous trial lawyer, his courageous wife, their six husky sons in their California home. Flashback with "Vince" to his birthplace, his athletic stardom, his fighting legal career. Hear him tell why he is proud to be the Progressive Party candidate for President.

MEET CHARLOTTA BASS, gallant Negro woman fighter for civil rights and peace, famous editor and publisher. Listen to her moving declaration for the causes which brought her out of retirement and into the front ranks of the Progressive Party as its Vice-Presidential candidate.

This first-rate campaign documentary, directed and filmed by moviedom's outstanding technicians, will be a certain hit at rallies and meetings through the entire election period. Its running time is 20 minutes, ideal for all programming.

Price $75 a print, ordered through Progressive Party, 17 West 45th St., New York 36, N. Y. For individual bookings, inquire at your state or local Progressive Party organization.

(Continued from Page 4)

Rumors were that the **Journal-American** would raise its price next week. Assn. attorney Wm. Richter said the price rises, spaced a week apart, seemed "mighty suspicious" and perhaps indicated "planned collusion."

PEACE

World group calls Berlin conference

WASHINGTON's reckless policies and furious brandishing of A- and H-bombs have become ominous to organized peace forces around the world. Korea, Germany, Japan last week were regarded as acute danger spots; swift counter-action seemed demanded. The World Peace Council, made up of peace leaders in all major nations, called an extraordinary session for July 1-5 in Berlin. The call, signed by Council pres. Frederic Joliot-Curie, said the decision to remilitarize Germany and "efforts to prevent an armistice" in Korea

> . . . accentuate the danger of another world war. At the same time, there are proposals from different sources that can ensure peaceful settlement of problems which divide the world today. If we want to save the peace, it is necessary to find ways of putting these proposals into effect and to find new solutions as well.

KOREA MOBILIZATION: In the Far East, where the Korean war is only one of several waged against Asians, a Peace Conference for Asia and the Pacific Regions was being organized. Forty-seven delegates from 20 countries (including Australia, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Viet Nam, U. S. S. R., U. S. and several Latin-American countries) held a four-day preparatory meeting last month.

On June 25, second Korean war anniversary, peace groups in most countries conducted special activities. The World Fedn. of Trade Unions proclaimed it "a day of solidarity with the heroic Korean people, a day of the defense of peace." In Chicago the American Peace Crusade marked the day with a Temple Hall rally. In New York City, five-borough women's peace organizations sent a large delegation to UN, to put these questions to as many delegates as they could reach:

- Why have UN forces not achieved peace in Korea in one year of negotiations?
- Why does UN permit the issue of POW exchange to be the stumbling-block?

"RUINOUS, UNWANTED" WARS: In London last month the British Peace Committee's fourth national conference was attended by 626 delegates, nearly 200 from trade unions. A proclamation unanimously adopted said: "Britain is being ruined to pay for wars none of us want against people with whom we have no quarrel."

Britain's youth held a Peace Festival at Sheffield which, for its success against all official obstacles, was termed "something akin to a miracle." Some 4,000—including visitors from 23 foreign countries—attended the week-end activities.

IN THE U. S.: Three Bellingham, Wash., mothers of servicemen (two of them serving in Korea) joined to file an initiative measure to

> . . . petition Congress to declare a policy of the U. S. to live in peaceful coexistence with other nations and to call a conference of the heads of leading nations to negotiate a settlement of existing differences.

All peace groups in the state joined in the task of collecting 50,000 signatures to put the measure on the ballot in November.

Columbia U. vice-pres. Dr. Grayson L. Kirk had some things to say at the school's 198th commencement exercises which may not have had the full agreement of Columbia pres. (on leave) Dwight Eisenhower. Dr. Kirk thought the U. S. might be able to work out "some acceptable form of co-existence" with Russia; Americans should give "sober thought" to the "conditions of reasonable peace, if any, which we are prepared to accept." He warned against "excessive rigidity in our own thinking" and the "dangerous conclusion that there is such a thing as inevitable war."

Civil Defense Show Draws Crowds to Hunt Armory

Pittsburgh Press

City Ignoring Free Show About Civilian Defense

Pittsburgh Telegraph

SAME DAY — SAME CITY

NO PLACE LIKE HOME

HOME FROM KOREA
That's my Dad and Mom

Convention committee officers

PLATFORM:
- **Co-Chairmen:**
  - Hugh Bryson, California
  - Earl Dickerson, Illinois
  - Katharine Van Orden, New Jersey
- **Secretary:**
  - John Abt, New York

ARRANGEMENTS:
- **Chairman:**
  - Clifford McAvoy, New York
- **Secretary:**
  - Ted Ptashne, Minnesota

NOMINATIONS:
- **Chairman:**
  - Thomas Fitzpatrick, Pennsylvania
- **Secretary:**
  - Louis Burnham

RULES:
- **Chairman:**
  - Marie Reed Haug, Ohio
- **Secretary:**
  - Donald Stephens, Delaware

CREDENTIALS:
- **Chairman:**
  - John Coe, Florida
- **Secretary:**
  - H. B. Jackson, Arizona

Denmark Vesey, July 2, 1822

One of the broadest slave conspiracies in U. S. history, writes Herbert Aptheker in **A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U. S.**—and one most effectively buried by historians—was that led by Denmark Vesey of Charleston, S. C., in 1822. Slaves were enlisted from as far as 80 miles from Charleston to make a break for freedom. Thousands are believed to have been involved. An informer told his master of the movement and complete exposure followed in the late spring. Four whites and 131 Negroes were arrested. The whites were fined and jailed; 37 Negroes were hanged. On July 2, 1822, Vesey went to his death on a giant gallows with five other liberation leaders.

Refusing to allow Vesey's memory to die, Aaron Kramer has written a "Denmark Vesey Oratorio," of which the following is an excerpt.

THE HANGING SONG

By Aaron Kramer

THE word of doom went through their bars
to spend the night beside them.
"My friends, if tears are in our eyes
we have no need to hide them.

"The warden's footstep fades away:
he cannot see us crying.
Alone we sit, with much to say
of living and of dying.

"As for myself, I call it mean
to hang in such bright weather;
but there are meaner ways to swing
than six true friends together.

"What does it matter if we be
remembered or forgotten . . . ?
Ten thousand guns of liberty
we leave beneath the cotton.

"Ten thousand guns will sing our mass
when we no more can hear it—
and those who dread us in the flesh
may dread us more in spirit."

The word of doom went through their bars
to spend the night among them.
Get out, bleak word! You are not theirs!
Go haunt the ones who hang them!

THE WORLD

Pomeroy pleads guilty, life spared

WILLIAM J. POMEROY, American former GI who returned to the Philippines after World War II and spent two years in the mountains working with the Huks—the People's Liberation Army—last month in Manila was sentenced to life imprisonment. Pomeroy was captured last April 11 (GUARDIAN, April 23): his wife, the former Celia Mariano, was seized a few days later. Both pleaded guilty to an indictment charging them with armed rebellion, murder, kidnaping, arson and robbery.

Judge Felicisimo Ocampo said he spared them death sentences because of "indications of repentance." Defense Secy. Ramon Magsaysay, now in the U. S., denied a newspaper report that he had promised Pomeroy a shortened sentence in return for a guilty plea, but said if Pomeroy would aid the Philippine government in its campaign against the Huks,

> ". . . he will give me reason to ask for Presidential clemency to shorten his term."

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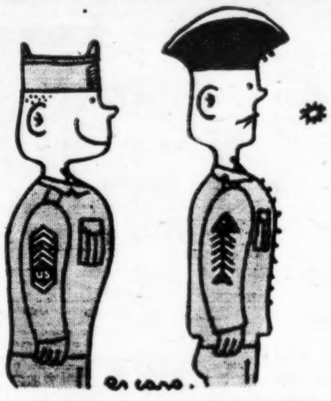

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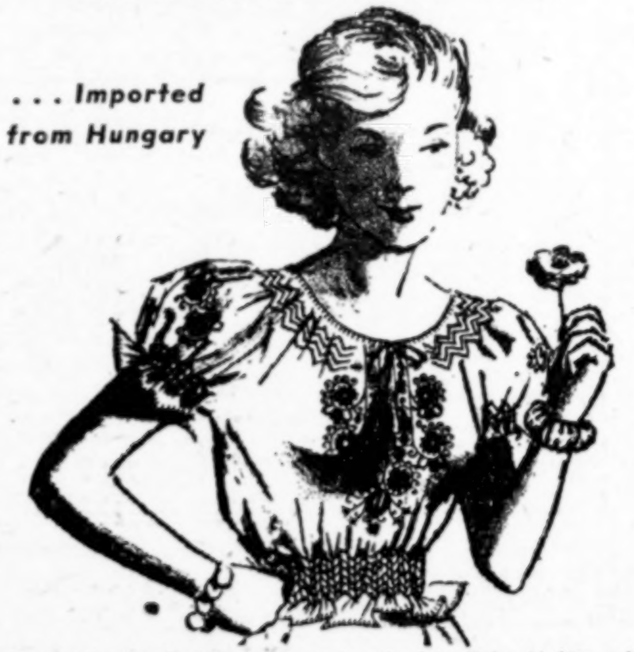

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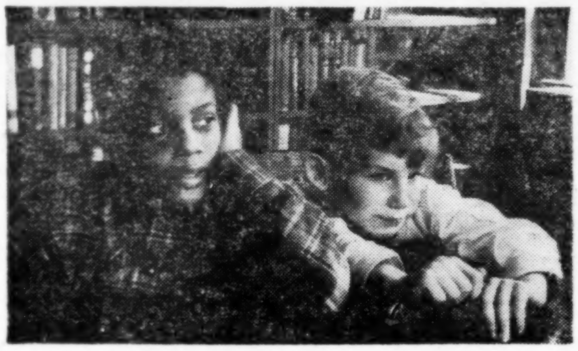

In the May 1, 1952 issue of National Guardian the above photograph by Bernard was featured on page 1. Subsequently, many readers requested copies of the picture for framing. In response to these requests, Guardian Buying Service had mounted 8x10 prints on an 11x14 mats suitable for framing. The picture, as you can see, will brighten any room............ **postpaid $5.95**

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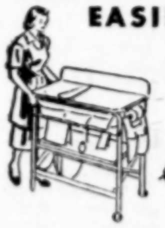

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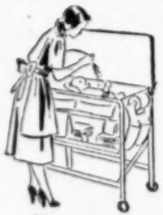

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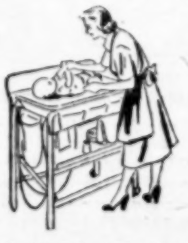

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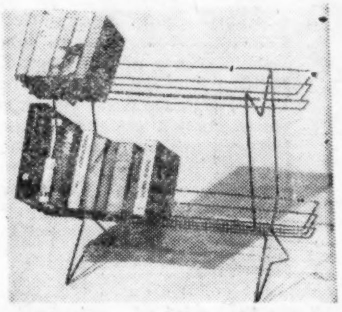

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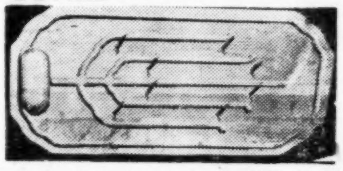

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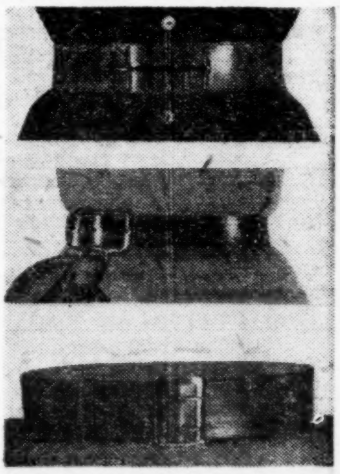

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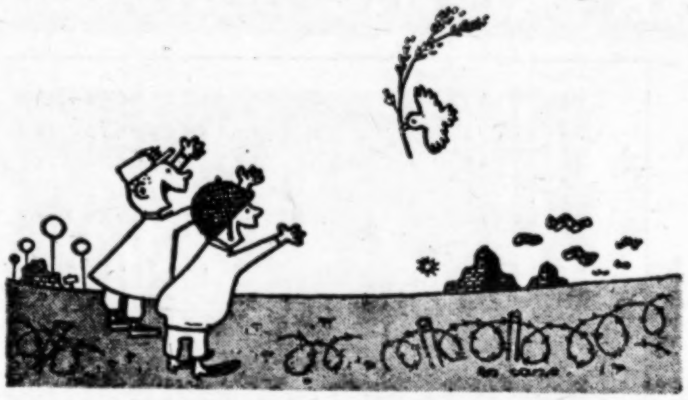
Readers speak on the 'Hidden H[illegible]y'



Liberation, Paris

THE GUARDIAN has received many good letters, pro and con, about Cedric Belfrage's article (May 15) on I. F. Stone and his book **The Hidden History of the Korean War.** Sorry we can't find space for them (all are several times longer than our Mailbag maximum), but here are some excerpts. From Princeton, N. J., John Cates writes:

> The review's total effect is to minimize the outstanding contribution Stone has made to the Left. What Stone has done is to raise doubts and questions about our whole conduct of the Korean War . . . WORKING FROM CONSERVATIVE AND ULTRA-RESPECTABLE SOURCES (Cates' emphasis). The GUARDIAN may have its own sources of information, but however reliable these are they will be and are criticized on the score that they are sympathetic to the North Koreans. . . . It is possible to differ with Stone over interpretation of events, but . . . it is adolescent to pretend absolute certainty. . . . Who is Belfrage to pretend that he or the GUARDIAN "knew" anything at all in the first few days after the War began? . . . I am not aware that Belfrage has the right to lecture Stone on his responsibilities as a journalist. . . . If it is somehow wrong to be "progressive but determinedly individualistic" let Belfrage spell it out, not stoop to inuendo.

WE ALL LOVE HIM . . . : Mrs. E. H. Tyndale (Jackson Heights, N. Y.) writes:

> You have surpassed yourself in your review of Mr. Stone's book. After one hour's examination of it I realized its defects as well as its good points. . . . To express my thankfulness I am enclosing a check. . . .

Ella Winter writes from a nursing home in London, England:

> That is a gem of a review. We all love and respect and admire Izzy and appreciate his courage and outspokenness but you are quite right, people are dying and dying under torture, while some of our people refuse to look at the implications of their own proven facts.

From Lewis A. Eldridge Jr., Rensselaerville, N. Y.:

> The review expresses my feelings about Stone both in its praise and its censure. He is brilliant, versatile, amazingly progressive, then disappointing and unreliable as at the start of the Korean War. I believe he has grown with that war, judging from his column in the Compass.

SELF-RIGHTEOUS? From "Constant Reader," New York:

> The GUARDIAN has every right to recall proudly its consistent and courageous coverage of the Korean War—a contribution unmatched by any other U. S. publication. [But] . . . the review smacked of a sectarian self-righteousness which I believe can only be misleading and harmful. . . . There are no single statements with which most progressives would disagree but . . . few readers put the review down feeling that Stone's book is a vital new weapon in the fight for peace. . . . The frantic personal crusade against it which Richard Rovere began in his full-page smear in the N. Y. Post and is continuing with his partner, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., should be a tip-off that Stone has given these birds a bad fright; they're scared silly that if enough ADA, CIO and AFL members read the book there'd be hell to pay among the "Fair Deal Democrats." . . . Surely it's no secret to Belfrage that there are people who won't believe what the GUARDIAN says. . . . Does he think his review equipped readers with a zeal for taking the book to the recalcitrants, or did it make all of us feel comfortable because we've been so right all along and the others so wrong? That's small comfort, unless it's combined with a healthy approach toward our misguided friends to whom we'll have to start talking someday if we're ever to break out of the box we're in.

THE LAST WORD: Belfrage comments:

> 1. The article was not strictly a review of Stone's book but rather of the GUARDIAN's record on the war in the light of the book, which we felt it necessary (not everyone thought self-righteously) to recall.
>
> 2. Stone's sources and ours are essentially the same, though he has done a much more voluminous job.
>
> 3. We have never said we "knew" the whole score on the war at its outset. We put together the facts as they came in and, as soon as they added up to conclusions, stated them.
>
> 4. We think that "determined individualism" — which implies over-reliance on personal decisions and under-respect for the collective decisions of progressive groups—helps make the progressive movement less effective than it could be.
>
> 5. We agree 100% with Eldridge on Stone, and with "Constant Reader" on the value of Stone's book.
>
> 6. We stand four-square for breaking out of sectarian boxes, and against "making all of us feel comfortable," but believe there is room for friendly criticism on the Left—and that goes for us, too.

THESE HANDS

By Martha Millet

Of old the gods descended upon earth,
(They say,) cloud-cleaving, as deliverers,
Avengers. So the sayers . . . Did they wait,
Counting out days, cave-blind, mute shiverers,
Until they grew their own clogged tongues to hate?

Empty the idols, eyeless, where man begged . . .

We, the life-givers! twin-armed, twin-legged.
How all our senses burst the inner wall,
Command us: "Upright! Dare!" Then dare we crawl?

Wide world before us; everywhere the hands,
Reborn from hells . . . they reach, they speak;
From the blood rivers where the oceans falter,
From the glass desert, from the frost-flower peak,
They reach, they speak!

Seize them! Feel power pour, vein into vein;
Earth-fellows, heart in heart, compounding might,
Chant life, chant light!

Say: shall the demon-makers glut?
The dollar-vultures, shatterers of skies?
Men's eyes they pluck
And bone's sweet marrow suck.

Then tear them from the carnage feast;
Tear out the craws, with half-digested meat;
The claws, the dripping beaks, the carrion cries.

My earth, child-plucked, speaks:
Hands . . . hands! We rip off death hoods, Siren's scream
Goes throttling out. The vengefire, trampled, dies.

Restoring victims, we give back the sun,
The ploughing field, the evening meal, the wheat,
The cradle with white coverlet; the sleep.

Soft soothers, hands go tight,
Soul-straight, own compact keeping.

These hands are ours . . . conquer, then; no creeping.
For life—for life we fight!

—From "Thine Alabaster Cities, a poem for our times," by Martha Millet, 24 pp. 25c. Prepaid copies from the author, 237 Penn St., Brooklyn 11, N. Y. 5 copies $1.

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Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, sentenced to die.

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Morton Sobell, sentenced to 30 years.

Mrs. Helen Sobell and her 2 children, aged 4 and 13.

The Rosenbergs and Sobell were convicted and sentenced on a charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage." Their trial was held in an atmosphere of hysteria and anti-Semitic hatred.

The prosecution used the Rosenbergs' trade union membership, their support of the American Labor Party, their interest in progressive causes as "proof" of guilt.

The Rosenbergs and Sobell asserted then and now their absolute innocence.

Julius Rosenberg writes from the Sing Sing Death House:

"I appeal to the conscience of America, to its inherent sense of decency and fairness to save the lives of two innocent people who are the victims of the political storms that rage in our land. Time is of the essence; default will not stay the hand of the executioner . . We have faith that humanity will set us free."

●

These are among the thousands of Americans who ask for a new trial for the Rosenbergs and Sobell:

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